M /20 cont./
*101 After the animal is fattened, an appointment is made with other
cc bull owners in neighboring villages for a bull fight out in the
563 open. Victory is a good omen. An auspicious day is selected
M to kill the bull for sacrifice to the ancestors. The sacrificer
782 wears white clothes and a green outer garment. After the
541 sacrifice the clan members sit around in a circle to drink
787 heavily and to sing in a most joyful way. Today this custom
292 is still prevalent in this sub-prefecture.
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(10) Chiu Ku Miao. — They originally came from Shih-
273 ping and K'ai-li in Kweichow. It is of the same tribe as the
167 P'ien-t'ou-he. They prefer green clothes. They are especially
291 fierce in nature. They wear armor and carry knives. They
714 go up mountains as if flying, and draw strong bows called the
411 p'ien-chia. The Tung Mao people who are being taxed by the
648 Yung Shun Pacification Commission were this tribe. They repeatedly caused trouble in Chen-ch'i-so before being put under governmental administration.

(11) He Shan Miao. — They are found in T'ai-kung,
M Kweichow. They bind their hair with blue cotton and live in
302 secluded valleys. They divine with rushes to know what is
787 auspicious or inauspicious. During the rebellion of 1795 in the
648 reign of Ch'ien Lung many members of this tribe joined it, and many of them were killed at Kou-pai-yen by Fu Chuang-su /the commander of the government forces/.

M (12) He Chio Miao. — They are very numerous at Ch'ing-
291 chiang and T'ai-kung. They wear short garments and large
411 trousers, and going and coming they carry knives and daggers.
787 Before taking any action they put two snails in a dish, to watch
825 their fight in order to divine whether the omen is good or bad. In the twenty-fifth year /1686/ of the reign of K'ang-hsi, with the Hung Miao, Shih Lao-ch'ung occupied T'ien-hsing-chai, but was subdued by Kuo Chung-hsiao. Today, remnants of this group can be found at Lao-feng-shan.

M (13) Ch'e Chai Miao. Originally they were from Li-p'ing
167 and Ku-chou in Kweichow. Today, their people are still found

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For a bullfight, the fancy outer scarf was worn, and more wealthy girls covered the overpiece with thin silver disks, large ones on the outer and small ones on the inner strips. In the back, in addition to the terminal row of cowrie shells there were the following: either a silver ornament formed of chains, cowrie shells, and bells in various shapes attached to the top of the horizontal back strip, or a tier of four-petalled cowrie shell flowers with a semicircular row of shells below, another row of the shells in a semicircle, and the silver ornaments. For all these occasions the girls also wore silver neck loops(fig. 17, *c*), silver bracelets, and silver rings to the limit of their wealth.

The woven belt had to be an arm-span long and was made as follows: One end of a bundle of warp thread, white plus the necessary number of black for the design of flying birds down the center, was tied to a stake in the ground or a stick across the soles of the weaver's feet, and the other end of the part being worked upon to the belt of the weaver. The heddle was a bundle of threads attached to the warp in such a way that shed and countershed could be made by hand. The shuttle was a flat piece of bamboo, over which the weft threads were thrown and shot through. It was also used to beat up the weft. The pattern was put in by raising the black warp threads among the white as desired. This belt was an inch and a half or two inches wide.

The most elaborate turban and costume was reserved for a bride and her attendants (fig. 20, *c*, *e*). In one case these numbered seven, in two other cases, nine. For this occasion the girls sewed together all the good blouses they owned, so that the color stitching at the bottom of each showed. I watched one girl who had eight: one of heavy turquoise cotton cloth with white, red, and yellow lines; a lavender satin with figures in green, red, and yellow, with green, orange, and blue lines; one of soft, thin green silk; one of soft, thin orange silk; one of black crepe with white, red, yellow, green, and rose lines; one of deep blue, heavy cotton with the same lines; one of white cotton with blue, red, green, and orange lines; and an outer one of orange silk. The bride and three or five of her attendants

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805 796 527 541 The girls sat about two or three fires between the group of grave mounds and a bamboo thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or [764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)[a] and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 241 243 As soon as the first month was over (the middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

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Lung Hui.[7] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

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Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[8] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

[7] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

[76a]

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the fights were going on a large group of men brought their caged thrushes together in one place to hear them sing against one another.

For this occasion both young men and young women wore very good clothing, new if possible. There were not many married women present. Two girls wore a silver ornament on the back of the overpiece (fig. 17, *c*), consisting of silver chains of beads to one silver cowrie shell, then to three, and then to five silver bells of various shapes. These made a fine tinkling as they walked. Two girls were dressed in the layers of colored blouses with embroidered pieces on the upper sleeves and silver disks covering the whole overpiece, trousers, and aprons, but not the pleated skirt. Several wore the fancy scarf on the turban. Two young men played the *lu sheng* at intervals during the afternoon.

The fights lasted from about ten o'clock in the morning to late afternon, when the guests went to the nearby villages. For much of the night the girls and young men played the *lu sheng*, talked and sang. The next day they went home, but the fights were held for three successive afternoons. I was invited to spend two weeks in Yang-liu-ts'un with relatives of those from Yang-chia-sai.

Another was held on this same field early in the eighth month of the lunar calendar. On the tenth, one was held at Hsin-ch'ang, a market town a little over a mile from Yang-niu-ts'un. It took place in a level space just outside the village, with the road leading into the village crossing it well to one side. There were two slopes here, also. Only a few people stood on the west one, though they were joined by others as the sun came lower. It was a very hot day. Each group of villagers had flags of white with a design which faintly resembled a dragon on them, and staves topped with a rosette of white chicken feathers and other rosettes of colored paper at intervals along them.

We were early enough this time for the ceremony of *ta ch'ang*.* This was a procession consisting of groups of men, including one or two in the orange or yellow robes of the

*The opening ceremony.

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priest. One priest led the bull, one man had a gong, one a long stick upon which was festooned a long, lighted string of firecrackers, two trumpets, and several villagers the banners and staves. Most of the bulls were covered with bright cloths of various colors or with red ribbons. The procession followed the foot of the hill upon which we stood, went around a clump of trees well beyond it, along the foot of the opposite hill, around the whole village and back to the field, where the bulls were divested of their finery and the banners and staves were set up in their former places. The "field" was thus defined as a plowed part which had been somewhat leveled off, one sodded and more level, some land on either side of the stone road leading into the village, and the village itself. As the procession moved nine gunpowder charges were set off twice at each end of the plowed section.

At this fight there was no gong when a fight was to be held, but a group of men with bamboo staves in their hands went to invite two bulls at either end of the field to be led on. It was so hot that only one really good fight took place. Most of the bulls just looked at one another as if to say, "Well, what do you think of that thing!" and then looked away. Sometimes one at once turned and ran.

It was market day at Hsin-ch'ang and those who attended the market also watched the fight. For the occasion even the little girls wore their best. This included the embroidered scarf on the turban showing the design on the edge, silver on the overpiece up to a maximum, which was the whole front and shoulder pieces covered with silver disks, large and small, four-petalled flowers of cowrie shells in the back with rows of shells suspended from them in two tiers, and a silver ornament consisting of chains, shells, and bells. It must have represented a goodly sum of money, as it could be bought only with real silver in the lump or Chinese silver dollars. Dr. Wu, in his account of the fight and sacrifice held each twelfth year, the initial one of a cycle, or "the year of the rat," speaks of a bullfight as a harvest festival coming after the harvest, when the period of relaxation begins, but this particular fight came right in the midst of harvest when the villagers were at their busiest.

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Two other fights I saw were held on the tenth of the ninth month of one year and the nineteenth of the ninth month the next year, at the meadow just outside Yang-chia-sai. Just before the first one we had been having bad weather for some time and, while it did not rain that day, it was still gray, misty in the valleys, and wet under foot. There was also a cold northeast wind. Therefore, fewer came than would have been the case had the weather been fine and the roads dry. The crowd seemed to be composed mostly of Chung-chia and Chinese from neighboring villages, with only a few visiting Cowrie Shell Miao. The audience filled the rise of ground with grave mounds on it to the east of the field. Sellers of noodles, nuts, candy, and wine occupied a piece of ground nearby.

Before the fights began a table was set up in the middle of the field and the usual objects of worship set upon it: a measure of rice with candles and incense sticks set in it, bowls of wine, and so on. The priests, of whom there were five, bowed to the ground before it before the *ta ch'ang* procession took place. After the procession it was removed and a cluster of lighted incense sticks was stuck in the ground at that place until they burned down. The procession consisted of five boys bearing large red banners on bamboo poles, a group of musicians, the five priests in orange silk robes, of whom the first carried a horn of wine which he spilled as he walked. The others carried umbrellas. After them came men with firecrackers and gongs and the gayly decked bulls, each led by one man. Some bulls without trappings did not go in the procession. This one followed the road to the south, around the group of Chinese houses and the temple, coming back to the highway along the wood, thence to the Tu Ti Miao, and onto the field, where they disbanded. The larger element of worship may have been due to the presence of important ancestral graves near by. However, this may have taken place at the Hsin-ch'ang field. I could not see what took place about a table there.

There were about a dozen bulls at the Yang-chia-sai fight and the fights were about as usual—some acted bored, one or two ran right off the field, two stampeded toward the

796 sellers of food, and there were one or two
541 really good fights. The banners were washed next day, and kept by our family.

The day of the fight held at the same place on the nineteenth of the ninth month of the following year was a bitterly cold one. So few bulls were brought that there was no procession. There was a larger group of Cowrie Shell Miao there than on the former occasion, however, because a young man in the village had just been married and the large group of wedding guests from other villages was still there. Several of the village girls put on their best clothes. There was one stam-

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pede into the sellers of sweetmeats which created much excitement and amusement, but no harm was done. Two bulls fought extremely well. Even after one bull had run off the field the other pursued him and continued the fight in a rice field until one of them had had enough and ran again. After the fights a feast was held at the home of the bridegroom, to which they invited me. The bride and her attendants and the bridegroom had already gone back to her village. Some of the guests sat at tables outside, but there was a group of men in one house and a group of the principal women guests in the other. I was asked to eat with them.

[78b]

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Bullfighting Among the Cowrie Shell Miao*

Dr. Wu Tzu-lin**

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Bullfighting among the Cowrie Shell Miao is a part of ancestral worship. Originally it was an act in the great sacrifice when they killed a bull to pay reverence to their ancestors, doubtless so that the ancestors might see that only the value of a bull was sufficient to express their respect for so important a divinity. In the economy of an agricultural village, to kill a bull every year is an impossibility because of poverty, so that among the Cowrie Shell Miao each *tzu* year the wealthy do it once, and it is called *ta*. Between two such sacrifices there must be an interval of eleven full years, but in these eleven years they must do much in the way of preparation. First, the selection of the bull is an especially important thing. Bulls which clash horns must be male water buffalo, and their physique and the form of their horns are all extremely important. Besides, they pay special attention to the feeding of the bull. The daily work of the bull is comparatively light, the food, however, comparatively rich. Until almost the time of the duel what they eat is special, so that the bulls selected to fight are reared to be large, fat, and, of course, quite unlike those used for plowing.

Bullfights are all conducted in the ninth or tenth month of the Chinese calendar. On the one hand, of course, it is a token of remembrance of the ancestors; on the other, it is a kind of ritual pastime at a comparatively short interval after harvest. Having worked all year, in their big meeting on this day they forget all their troubles. So, although the formal sacrifice of killing a bull must come at intervals of eleven years, really the two or three pre-

*From an article in a local newspaper in Kweiyang, 1940.

[78c]

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ceding the sacrifice are all a preliminary to the fight. Thus, in ordinary years, while the bullfight is little like *the* fight, yet sometimes it has a period of preliminary offering. The elders of the villages used to make their decision and, about Ch'ing Ming, send a notice inscribed on a tablet of wood to villages within a radius of ten li to make their selection. In recent years instead of wood they use the red scroll and write on it, "Having fixed such and such a day of such and such a month, we hope each relative or friend who has a bull will come and bring it. So and so respectfully gives notice."

The arena for the fight is a piece of level land near a village or a rice field trampled smooth after water has been put upon it. Before the fight, at about nine in the morning, all the families lead the bulls to the field and, after they have assembled begin a *fu ch'ang* ritual. Each family makes the bull go around the boundary of the arena, with the body of the bull covered with red cloth and red silk given by relatives and friends. Wealthy people also put on the tips of the horns a sheath of silver three to four inches long. The priest puts on a yellow robe and, carrying in his hands a bull's horn full of rice wine, follows the bull, from time to time pouring wine on the path. A man following strikes a gong and another sets off firecrackers to add dignity. This is the first act of the fight.

From noon to three in the afternoon is the actual time of bullfighting. At the field the elders of the villages take charge. They also appoint a man as master of ceremonies, who roughly selects bulls of

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equal body and horn points and matches them as fighting partners. They are led out to fight. If their strength is very different, then four or five minutes is enough to decide which is the victorious and which the defeated bull. If they match those of equal strength, there must usually pass about twenty minutes of effort before one can decide which is the victor. Sometimes the victorious bull forces the defeated one to run vigorously. When there is danger of the defeated one being killed the bystanders run onto the field and separate them with wooden staves and bamboo poles, so that the defeated one can escape easily. Bulls that fight well usually strike their opponent's horns fiercely with their own so that the defeated one is injured and bleeds and falls to the ground. One pair having finished, the second pair come out on the field, until the number is complete, and then they stop.

As for the guests, they all stand around the arena at a distance and look on, not daring to come near lest, when the defeated bull runs madly they may be trampled by him. But sometimes people are knocked down by bulls and thus injured. This is the second act of the fight.

After the bullfights are over, the owners of the bulls clamor for the sorcerer to name a day to prepare the sacrifice. Several families in a village can conduct it at the same time. The day before the sacrifice they must set up the stone for killing the bull, which, in addition to the part which is in the ground, is at its greatest height three feet, and about ten inches wide. At a point about seven or eight inches above the ground they chisel a round hole, about half an inch in diameter, and in the front of the stone are engraved the words given below: "Son (or grandson) So and So for the sacrifice at the autumn assembly has carefully prepared to make a fine offering to you (god or ancestor), the deceased father So and So. Set up in such and such a year, such and such a month, on such and such a day."

The ritual of killing the bull is conducted from ten to eleven in the morning. Before killing the bull they ask the priest to offer prayers. The offering is set before the stone – first two cups of tea, then one cup of wine, one bowl of rice, several bowls of other dishes, a measure [*sheng*] of rice, into which they stick lighted incense. Besides this there is also a red paper parcel with a silver dollar or two wrapped in it, to be his fee, with a pile of burning spirit money beside it. At the time of the sacrifice the priest puts on a thin yellow silk robe, one man holds an umbrella, one man beats a gong, two men blow trumpets, two men beat drums, and when the bull is brought they set off nine gunpowder charges. As for the method of killing the bull: They lead it to in front of the stone and make it kneel down on

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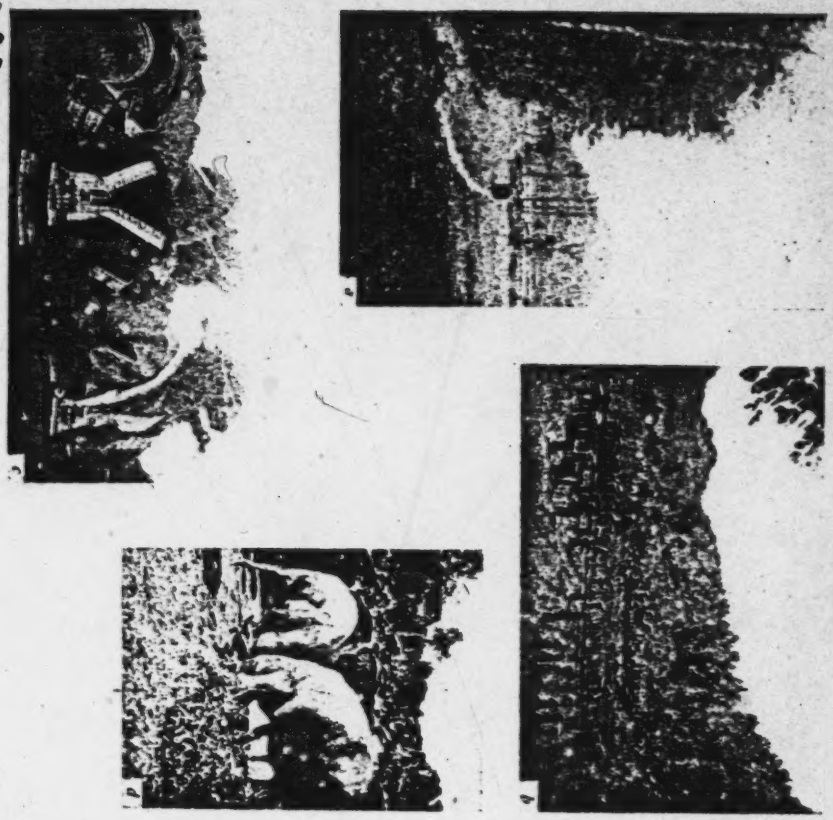

[For captions, see p. 90b. -- Analyst]

a, Two women of the village following the path across the buffalo bullfighting meadow. *b*, Men on the bullfighting field, procession in the background. *c*, Back view of girls viewing bullfight, showing silver ornaments, embroidery band, and turbans. *d*, Bulls actually fighting. *e*, Group of men at bullfight with caged thrushes. *f*, Bulls fighting and spectators, showing group of men with staves.

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533 796 sound of so many pipes all playing independently at the same time and place is certainly not music, and soon becomes positively exasperating to some ears. On the edge of the crowd are sweetstuff and cake sellers, and other hawkers moving about.

796 All the Miao have these festivals, but the music and pacing are not the same. Among the Hua Miao and Shui-hsi Miao, the women do not dance, but men dressed up in women's clothes, with their hair done up like women, take their place. Among the Hua Miao, all the babies born during the year are taken to these festivals, and carried about on the backs of their fathers. Many of the Miao villages around Anshunfu have, besides the pipes, their own band of four musicians, provided with a drum, a pair of cymbals, and two flageolets or flutes. These musicians are often invited and paid by the Chinese to play at their marriages, funerals, and other functions.

541 796 The pony-runnings at these festivals are not races, and there are no prizes given. A piece of land is selected, level or nearly level, and about one hundred and fifty yards long. Along this they gallop in a line one after another. On reaching the end of the course they turn off, and walk or trot back again to the starting-

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place, like boys who have made a slide on the ice. When on the course they gallop the ponies at the top of their speed. Any one on a pony can join in or leave off when he likes.

We have attended these festivals, but have never seen a buffalo fight. We have seen men urging on the buffaloes to fight with one another, but the animals either did not understand what was expected of them or they had too much sense to do anything so foolish. On one occasion we saw a buffalo, exasperated by these attempts, break away from its tormentors and tear away at full speed across the ground. It overturned a pony and its rider, but did not attempt to gore them. All the buffalo wanted was to get clear away, and as everybody there showed the utmost possible alacrity to give it plenty of room, it succeeded. We have heard, however, that buffaloes do fight sometimes at these festivals, and that now and then one gets killed in the contest. They also fight sometimes of their own accord. We once saw two combatant buffaloes with their horns locked together, and half of the village pulling at ropes attached to their hind legs. They were finally pulled apart, and neither of them seemed any the worse for the encounter.

000 The Miao and, we think, all the other races

/68 cont./

A M 524 526 171 is no question of material or environmental factors, nor can there be any thought of influences coming from Europe. Independent invention is also hardly likely in view of the frequent occurrence of the phenomena. One is more apt to suspect a common origin.

A M 541 171 [525] There was no evidence of animal fights among the Akha and only rarely among the Meau. Only cockfights are sometimes arranged, but no knives are tied to the spurs of the cocks, as is the practice among the Indonesians and the Thai peoples. Betting in connection with cockfights, at which the Thai often lose their entire fortune, is unknown. Also, fights between crickets, fish, or steers are unknown, although the neighboring Thai in the valleys are passionately fond of arranging all these fights.

A M 857 561 [252] Children begin to perform work at the age of four among both the Meau and Akha. They help the mother collect firewood (Ill. 38),[1] which they carry home in their own small wood /69/ carriers, or they help their parents weed the rice fields, carry home fruits and sugar cane in their little baskets (Ill. 93),[2] and while their mother turns the grindstone, they carefully pour the rice or maize into the opening of the millstones. They tend the domestic animals and, in the absence of their parents, guard the houses. Boys at this age are already used as messengers, a particularly important task in a country where there is neither mail nor telephone service. At the age of six or seven, at the latest, the children already begin to be a definite and earnest help to their parents, especially since tasks can be assigned to them without having to make a check afterwards. With the exception of the messenger service, which is done only by boys, both sexes alike are pressed into service, and the children are always very anxious to do their duty, ambitious, and proud of the work performed. I never heard of a child's having complained about work that was too hard.

A M 857 561 461 Just as there are no definite ages of the children for games, there are none for work. There is no general work schedule, but rather an individual regard for the tendencies of the growing children, which, however, do not yet manifest themselves in the early years of childhood. The work assigned to the children

[1] [See cat. 116, P 272 - ANALYST]
[2] [" " " , P 643 - "]